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THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

"Nach Paris"—The Conference Opens

By THE EDITOR

"Nach Paris"

THE Army and Navy did everything in their power to enable the correspondents victoriously to enter Paris. The Navy transported us to France with all the royalty America can muster; let us eat and sleep aboard ship till all arrangements for our movement upon the city were complete; gave us envelopes of sugar, which afterwards proved of real service; sequestered all our detached baggage in the hold of an army ferry with military efficiency twelve hours before it was necessary, with the interesting result that a number of the writers of news went one night without the usual things one has grown to feel one needs at bed time, and furnished two comfortable boxes of individual lunches and fruit for the party's use en route. The Navy was, in short, a kindly and intelligent mother to a needy group, who appreciated the service sincerely.

But it was the Army that arranged that we should have accommodations over the crowded and crippled road to Paris, obtaining two special cars for the purpose. It was the Army that spared us the common ordeal of being vaccinated against a half-dozen diseases, and of being bothered greatly over passport and other details. It was the Army who furnished welcome automobiles for our conveyance over the muddy "rues" of Brest from the wharf to the station, and later for the sight-seeing trip through the chief city of the "obstinate Breton." We all left Brest with a feeling of obligation and gratitude for the many courtesies of the Army and Navy.

It was no one's fault that the cars which had been provided were without heat; "*le charbon*" in France is scarce. It was no one's fault that there were not enough sleeping shelves to go round; even these boards in France are limited. It was no one's fault that it rained and that everything seemed water-logged that night; it must rain one-hundred-seventy-seven days during the year to keep up the average in this country, and at this writing it appears that Nature has decided to run them together, perhaps to get the thing done and out of the way. Anyhow, rain it does practically all the time. It was no one's fault that our train conductor differed from American conductors; French conductors are different. When one of our party offered ours one of the Navy's lunches he was as receptive as an American tramp. It was no one's fault that soldiers, American and French, were around every station through the long night; France is literally covered with soldiers moving hither and yon. Indeed, that there is any kind of rail service between Brest and Paris is due to American railroad engineers and American soldier workmen. But the

hours came and went, as is the way of hours. At some place toward the middle of the night the sweet and a bit anxious face of a French Red Cross worker appeared at our door and she held up to us a mite box with a modest appeal for aid. The sleepless night wore away. The first doubtful signs of light increased, prevailed, and the darkness that had weighed upon France lifted and disappeared. We passed through the woods and sandy plains once the hunting grounds of Louis XIII, by Versailles, with the massive "Chateau"—court residence of Louis XIV, birthplace of the German Empire, now at last the expectation and hope of our modern civilized world. We arrived at *la Gare Mont-Parnass*. We alighted. We found our baggage safe in charge of the army officer. We washed. We drank some medicinal black liquid into which we were permitted to drop some little tablets called "saccharine" but which tasted more like quinine, a liquid called here by the deceptive name of "café" and which cost us one franc for a cup. We were in Paris.

The Conference Opens *

I have just come from the opening of the Conference at the Quai d'Orsay. It has not rained today—indeed the sun has shone most of the time. When I reached the building which contains the offices of the Minister of Foreign Affairs there were the usual photographers ready to furnish you with the pictures of the great as they arrived. It was 2.15 p. m. Soon a squad of French soldiers came along, headed by a group of buglers and drummers. My "press card" let me through the big gates and to the Palace itself. We checked our hats and coats and went on into the Conference room that is to be. It is plainly but conveniently equipped, with beautiful wall and ceilings. The opening session was held in the "Clock Room," gorgeously decorated in Louis XIV gold and deep red. We were allowed to view the whole proceeding from the room adjoining, also beautifully adorned, a thing which was perfectly possible, because there are three large archways leading directly into the "Clock Room."

Official persons were already busy arranging cards at the tables quite as at a regulation American banquet. Through the heavy curtains secretaries of various groups busied themselves seeing that none of the plenipotentiaries were left out or misplaced.

Friend S. and his partner Mr. M. of New York entered at 4.40. Then they just began to string in. Mr. Lansing came at 3.50. Soon the Prince and son of the King of Arabia, with elaborate headgear, came in with his hopes for a free and independent Arabia. Mr. Wilson entered

* From a personal letter. Defective postal service and, possibly, censorship are interfering with this correspondence.

the room at 2.55, followed by M. Clemenceau. Mr. — whispered to me that the group as a whole excelled in appearance any parliamentary group he had ever seen. To me many of the men seemed very young, but there was about it all the question—Is this the "Parliament of Man"? Does this mean "the federation of the world"? In any event I had the feeling that the eyes of the world were upon us there, and in those eyes I saw the light of the ancient longing for the end of war.

The speech of the President of the French Republic was delivered in a soft but characteristically crescendo-dimenuendo French, trembling here and there with emotion. It began without the formalities peculiar to American speeches. Mr. Wilson stood at his right and eyed him intently throughout the twenty-five minutes. Mr. Balfour stood at his left and allowed his eyes to wander up and around a great deal, though Mr. B. understood the French perfectly, while Mr. Wilson understood it not at all. The entire Conference stood throughout the address and received it in silence.

After the translator had furnished his tiresome but necessary task Mr. Clemenceau took the chair provisionally, when Mr. Wilson, in a short and typical Wilsonian speech, moved that M. Clemenceau be permanent chairman of the Conference. After this speech was translated into French, Mr. Lloyd-George seconded the nomination. This was translated, and then an Italian delegate made a brief "second", after which Mr. Clemenceau "took the chair" permanently and laid before the Conference the outlines of the first steps in the agenda. The simple meeting adjourned.

The work has begun. I have seen Kings received in Paris; I have heard great men utter great thoughts; I have stood by the tomb of Napoleon; I have worshipped in the Madeleine and Notre Dame; I have not been thrilled until today. The silent gathering that I saw there in that ancient palace, men from all nations aligned against Germany, the living idealisms personified there, the future bending as if to listen, the fate of the generations yet unborn hanging there as if by a thread. I was thrilled there at that place. It seemed so stupendous, resistless, uncertain but fateful.

THE HOPES AND REALITIES OF PEACE

By ORDWAY TEAD

Bureau of Industrial Research

I WROTE last spring a short book, "The People's Part in Peace," outlining what seemed to be some of the economic influences which are helping to bring into existence an effective League of Nations. Those economic forces are as active now as they were a year ago, and if they do not promise to eventuate at once into the type of international economic organization that we could hope for, we have the satisfaction of knowing that a beginning will be made. If the program as finally adopted does not fulfill our every desire, it will have the value of rallying an overwhelming majority support in the constituent nations. That support is essential. It is clear that nothing could be more unfortunate than the embarking upon a program of international

co-operation which is not understood and sympathetically espoused by the great body of the world's citizens. We can have successful internationalism only as we take affirmative recognition of the economic situation and utilize it in the social interest.

Let me, in order better to assess the progress that is being made toward a peace of international justice and intelligent co-operation, indicate briefly the argument of my book as to the ways in which economic forces are helping to shape international destinies. Problems that relate to the supplying of peoples with the necessities of life, I have said, are problems for the satisfactory solution of which peoples will go to war. More than that, the arrangements of our system of production are such that those who have a financial stake in investment and trade are exceedingly alive to every opportunity to assure and to increase that stake. It results that (1) the securing of raw materials for the manufacturing nations; (2) the shipping of those materials and of finished goods; (3) the extension of foreign markets for the sale of goods; (4) the extension of spheres of influence wherein investors are accorded special privileges; and (5) the wide divergence of labor standards from one country to another; all combine to raise problems of national self-interest and capitalist self-interest which are critical in the extreme and provocative of discord. I have tried to show how, especially during the war, self-interest forced the Allied nations to create joint bodies on the first four of these problems in order to assure self-preservation and national protection. And I am confident that the same motives of economy, desire for intelligent distribution of goods and credits in relation to needs, will lead on to the development of similar agencies in the international government.

Yet I admit at once that the immediate outlook is not encouraging. It is discouraging, because the forces that have a personal self-interest in international *laissez-faire*—the capitalist forces—do not yet see the value, even from their own point of view, of a public control in these five fields. And the consuming public of the nations is not clear enough or united enough to enforce upon the Peace Conference the demand for a democratic control of economic agencies and forces in the interest of all the people rather than in the interest of the financiers. That this opinion is not charged with pessimism, I can best indicate by showing what developments there are in regard to the control of raw materials, shipping, and the rest which show the probable drift of immediate events.

(1) *Raw Materials.* The disposition of liberals the world over is to allocate the essential raw materials—coal, iron, cotton, wood, copper, rubber, etc.—on a basis of the known needs of each country and the known manufacturing capacity of each country. The reasons for favoring such a co-operative arrangement are many; but chief among them is the desire to distribute goods where they are humanly needed, with the minimum of cross-carriage, profiteering speculation, and competitive waste.

Since the armistice, governmental controls over export and import have been largely removed in the Allied countries, except as the shortage of shipping space